

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 668

April 14, 1949

THREEPENCE

Dwight Macdonald on the NEW YORK PEACE CONFERENCE

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New Zealand's Conscription Conflict

From A. C. Barrington, Lower
Moutere.

EVER since the War there have been intermittent demands for military conscription in New Zealand, especially by the Returned Servicemen's Association and the daily Press; and the Prime Minister, Mr. Peter Fraser, is known to favour it. Recently the pressure—hitherto damped down by Trade Union resistance—has been stepped up.

The newspapers are carrying simultaneous feature-articles by well-known militarists, Sir Wm. Perry, Sir Andrew (formerly Brigadier) Russell, Major-General Sir Howard Kippenberger, etc.. The Defence League has also been revived. But opposition to conscription is also mounting. A breakaway organisation of soldiers from the second world war, the 2nd NZEF Association, is consistently opposing not only peace-time conscription, but also the continued victimisation of COs—700 of whom are still debarred from voting.

Motions to the annual conference of the NZ Federation of Labour, to be held in May, include one from the Waterside Workers' Union, asking that, if the Labour Government introduces compulsory military training, the Federation call upon all affiliations to organise and elect a Government which will uphold the principles and traditions of the Labour and Trade Union movements. The Engineering Workers' Union is also asking the Federation to oppose conscription.

In a number of centres, anti-conscription organisations have been set up, and some 50 delegates from these attended a Dominion Conference in Wellington on March 26-7. A constitution for a national organisation, to be known as the Peace and Anti-Conscription Federation, was adopted. Local councils are to be set up wherever possible.

FEATURE LETTER FOR C.O. RESERVISTS

THERE must be a considerable number of men who, like myself, spent several years in the armed forces during the war, and who have since reached the conclusion that participation in another would be impossible.

I realize that the PPU has already approached the Ministry of Labour and National Service, regarding the position of would-be COs who are on Class Z reserve, and that at present there are no legal grounds for refusing to comply with call-up instructions, should an emergency arise.

Would it be of any use, I wonder, if signatories and brief details of war service were forwarded to the PPU, to be collected in support of a future petition to the Ministry?

A. PEARSON

c/o 4, Grove Avenue,
Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

THE SWING TO THE RIGHT

THE conspicuous failure of Labour candidates in the county council elections was the measure of popular appreciation of Sir Stafford Cripps's Budget. And an iron Budget it was indeed.

Difficult, perhaps, to understand what Truth (I mean the weekly paper of that name) last week described as the Chancellor's "whimsy in altering the Budget Day," so that a new year of Austerity was inaugurated on the day before the LCC and Middlesex elections. But not so difficult to see why the iron Budget had to be.

A country cannot spend what Britain is nowadays committed to

There would have been more if the power of the LCC had not always been restricted by Tory opposition.

LCC's enemies

TORIES never wanted an LCC. They perpetuated the ancient rights of the City, endowed the London boroughs with great powers simply to reduce the authority of the County. But on Saturday they were snarling because the LCC's structure did not enable them, on the strength of their slender majority in votes and a parity in seats, to take immediate control of a council they tried to kill at birth and whose progress in development they have always tried to thwart. However, thanks to the aldermanic system, Labour's rule of London will continue. Perhaps by the time a by-election happens, the usual Labour supporters, who seem to have stayed churlishly at home after hearing last week's Budget, will bestir themselves to vote for a Party which has—so far as the County of London is concerned—served them well for fifteen years.

COMMENTARY by MAURICE CRANSTON

spend on armaments and social services and at the same time ease the burden of taxation.

We have reached the utmost limit, Sir Stafford has explained, in bleeding the rich; social services cannot draw further nourishment from that source, and the only way to pay for them is more and more production. Sooner, or later, I suspect, the slogan of Production will acquire a hollow sound, especially now that it is being echoed in Germany and Japan; for the day may come when there will be more Production than the Foreigner will buy, when Britain's bumper exports won't be wanted, when—unless America's terror of Communism leads her to subsidise us indefinitely—there will be no way for Britain to pay for the food her people need.

Foolish hopes

YET somehow the British electors seem to take it for granted that things should be getting better. And when the Iron Chancellor disappoints their hopes of immediate ease, they troop out to vote for an ancien régime which has done them far worse injury in the past than anything Sir Stafford Cripps has done recently.

I confess that to me, as a Londoner, the Conservative majority in last week's election in our county came as a shock. Labour has an excellent record in London. If there has been misrule in borough councils with Socialist majorities, the conduct of the County Hall since 1935 has been exemplary. Great progress has been made in almost every department of the council's activities.

French production

THE news from France continues to improve—at least in terms of production. Coal output is nearly one-fifth higher than it was in 1938. Output of iron and steel is also doing well. In February it was 42 per cent. above the average for 1938 and 23 per cent. above that of a year ago. Combined with the continued fall in the prices of foodstuffs, these figures of production are encouraging. Only, in the words of the London Times, "money is still tight." The situation of the French worker compares very poorly with that of the British worker. He is indeed so badly off that more often than not he votes Communist, where the British worker is so well off that he can evidently permit himself the luxury of voting Tory.

A sound foundation

IN theory at any rate, the long-term economic prospects for France are better than they are for England, and better therefore for the French worker than the British. For France has a decent balance between agriculture and industry; given good harvests she can feed herself, and feed herself well. The export trade—and mostly it is an export of luxury goods which are something of an anachronism in these socialist egalitarian times—the export trade of France is not vital to her very existence as it is to Britain's. And indeed so far as France is concerned, the slogan of more and more production might well hold the key to long-term security—so long as the "pro-

TO THE PARIS "PEACE" CONFERENCE

ПРИВЕТ НАШИМ РУССКИМ ЧИТАТЕЛЯМ

PEACE NEWS, выходящий в Англии, читается во всех частях света. Мы надеемся, что число наших читателей будет неперестанно увеличиваться и вместе с тем будет расти и углубляться идея, которой Peace News служит, ибо мир может быть осуществлен только тогда, когда просвещенное человечество отбросит те суеверия, которые разделяют его на государства народностей и объединится в одно общее братство.

Мы глубоко верим, что война уйдет в область преданий и идея нового объединенного человечества будет господствовать над миром.

Сотрудники Peace News и их единомышленники шлют вам свой братский привет и надеются что наш журнал найдет в вас отклик.

"PEACE NEWS" est le porte-parole de la section britannique de l'Internationale des Résistants à la Guerre dont les membres, dans tous les pays, se sont liés à renoncer à la guerre et à créer, par des moyens également pacifiques et justes, une société juste et pacifique. "Peace News" publie les nouvelles et les opinions des pacifistes du monde entier. Nous adressons nos salutations cordiales à tous nos lecteurs de langue française!

"PEACE NEWS" ist das Organ der britischen Sektion der Internationalen der Kriegsdienstgegner, deren Mitglieder in allen Ländern sich feierlich zum Verzicht auf Krieg und zur Schaffung einer gerechten und friedfertigen Gesellschaft im Rahmen gerechter und friedlicher Mittel verpflichtet haben. "PEACE NEWS" verbreitet Nachrichten und Ansichten der Pazifisten über die ganze Welt. Grüsse all unsern deutschsprechenden Lesern!

duction" includes food and babies as well as industrial goods. But you don't often hear this particular slogan in France. You hear instead other and more diverse slogans from the several political camps into which France is divided.

Peace jamboree

AT the moment slogans heard in France have often to do with "Peace." For in the week after Easter, artists and intellectuals from East European and Western countries will be meeting under Communist auspices to declare the solidarity of the common man and to protest at the wicked war-mongering of the Atlantic Pact

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

THE MORAL EQUIVALENT TO WAR

By J. C. Kumarappa

GENERALLY, war has been used as a means of settling disputes, wreaking vengeance, and conquest for the purposes of acquiring land and other natural resources, of gaining power over other men and nations, or for obtaining slaves to enable the conquering nation to lead a life of luxury, or to secure the hoarded wealth of other nations. Of recent years, with the increasing mechanisation of warfare it has also provided an excellent insatiable market for the industrial producers. For these reasons the wars have been waged by the scheming few enlisting the help of the majority by false propaganda, alluring them with short term benefits and upsetting their future welfare and security.

In spite of all this, philosophers of the type of William James had recognised that there were some good points involved in belligerency. If only we can take out the destructive elements of war and the desire to exploit the weak by the strong, we may be able to make the armed forces from being a parasite on society into a force for the cultural development of the nation. Such philosophers recognised that war afforded room for the development of the various faculties of man and therefore it also performed a function in the growth

of humanity. Hence, they were seeking ways and means to discover a moral equivalent to war.

The military brought out certain qualities of the higher elements in man, such as, the protective instinct, resourcefulness and creative expression, though the scope for these was circumscribed. It also promoted the spirit of adventure, courage, co-operative action and willingness to sacrifice for a cause. In our country at the present moment the Government is bent on introducing military training in our schools and colleges. The ostensible reason given being that military training can be made a nation-building activity to introduce discipline and orderly life amongst the youth as well as develop their physique.

In a practical way, Gandhi has given us a programme of activity in constructive work, which gives the fullest scope for the development of that which is latent in an individual.

Constructive work is one through which the individual grows. It promotes all that the armed forces can give and yet im-

proves on them. Instead of discipline imposed from outside it develops self-discipline and self-control. The spirit of sacrifice and the devotion to a cause along with the will-power to create the necessary environment is also called for.

A constructive worker is a pioneer in many cases. He has launched forth into a hostile world with thought currents running against him to fulfil his destiny. This gives him scope to foster courage and adventure. The whole of his constructive programme is based on a group of people working out their scheme in co-operation from day to day. Thus more than a military campaign, constructive work calls for superior qualities and affords, in a fuller measure, scope for the individual to grow in his moral stature.

The constructive worker is indeed a knight errant fighting the formidable demons of poverty, ignorance, diseases and injustice. He is the guardian of the weak and should be the terror of the exploiter.

In placing such a programme of non-violent action before the world, Gandhi has presented humanity with the moral equivalent to war.

(Gram Udyog Patrika).

FRANK LEA A word of farewell

THIS (my shaky arithmetic tells me) is the hundred-and-twentieth leading article I have written for Peace News. It is also the last, since my editorship ends with this number. Were Peace News an ordinary paper, that would not be worth mentioning: but Peace News is not an ordinary paper. In some respects it is a very extraordinary one. It is only kept in being, week after week and year after year, by the determination of a tiny minority to give the public what it does not want—news and views of men and women who have renounced war.

I wish, therefore, to take this opportunity for thanking those—contributors and distributors, donors to the Forward Fund and above all the office staff, including voluntary part-time helpers—who have made the editing of Peace News such an exhilarating, as well as exacting task. After six years spent in communities, I could not imagine what it meant to work

SPLENDID RESPONSE

THE target of £250 for the Forward Fund by the end of March was not reached; nevertheless, our appeal for funds to meet the increased cost of the larger PN has met with a splendid response.

In addition to the £68 8s. 10d. contributed to the Fund, we have received no less than £77 from one staunch supporter in Norfolk, to pay for trial-subscriptions on behalf of "likely" individuals and bodies in various parts of the country.

1200 extra copies were printed of our April 1 issue, 500 of last week's, and a brisk trade has been reported by street-sellers in Trafalgar Square and elsewhere.

Keep this up and there should be no reason to repent the steps we have taken to make PN a more attractive and readable newspaper.

THE EDITOR

Contributions since Mar. 25: £68 8s. 10d. Total for 1949: £195 12s. 2d.

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not be justified primarily as a means of preventing war. Most pacifists, of course, admit that sooner or later. The most ardent propagandists for the Pledge, when asked how World War III is to be prevented, commonly recommend policies, such as Federal Union or negotiated disarmament, which do not necessitate pacifism; and the PPU National Council itself has just averred that the cold war can be halted by "increasing understanding" (of something), on the part of the present British Government, and "negotiation with the Soviet Government both in relation to trade agreements and the fundamental political differences" (whatever they may be).

But if pacifism is not primarily a means of preventing war, it demands a wholly new justification, and a wholly new orientation on the part of pacifists. Moreover, since "peace," for ninety-nine people out of a hundred, means nothing unless it means the prevention of World War III—and since "peace" is written into the very name of the Peace Pledge Union, of Peace News, and, indeed, of "pacifism" itself—I can see little hope of the new wine being held in the old bottles.

I cannot help suspecting that the failure of the PPU to retain the loyalty of so many proven pacifists, and the steady decline in the circulation of Peace News over the last five years, is intimately related to this unresolved contradiction in the minds of its most vocal supporters. The renunciation of war is right; the reasons they give for it are wrong, and so are the activities to which these reasons commonly commit them.

Be that as it may, I find myself relinquishing Peace News with very mixed feelings: of regret at parting from so many good friends; of relief at being free to concentrate on more congenial work. Both regret and relief, however, are tempered by the appointment of Bernard Boothroyd as my successor. He, if anyone, will deserve the co-operation I have so richly received; he, if anyone, will succeed, where I have failed, in making Peace News a success.

To Westminster

COMING away from the fine Trafalgar Square meeting on Sunday afternoon, I asked myself what the PPU was trying to get people to do.

The denunciation of the Atlantic Pact (which is acclaimed by both Bevin and Churchill as a triumph for peace) was the theme at the meeting, and logically led to Dr. Belden's demand that "this Government must be sent packing."

But how?

What could those hundreds of fairly casual listeners do, if they were convinced (as some of them were) by the common-sense arguments of our speakers? What could we pacifists in the crowd go away and do? Only persuade others to a point of willing impotence?

There will be a General Election next year, and probably not another until 1955, before which date the Third World War may be over. Surely, the only place to effectively lift our voice against war is in the place nationally provided for the expression and carrying out of political policies: The House of Commons. We ought not to have been in Trafalgar Square, if it were not a step on the way to Westminster. For, quite rightly, no Government takes any notice of opponents who are not prepared to challenge it at the appointed and only place, that is, at the Polling Booth.

We ought not to lead people to the point of exasperation with the foreign policy, endorsed by both Labour and Tory parties, unless we provide an alternative party.

For it is clear that neither of the present parties are open to quick conversion and speed is essential now. It may already be too late. Unless we are prepared for action on the political level, we ought to concentrate on getting more signatories to the Pledge, and leave politics alone.

To some of us it has been tantalising in the extreme to feel during these recent decisive months, the weakening of the PPU in membership and vitality. It is the only instrument, ready to hand, that could, if it wished, organise the overwhelming anti-war feeling in this country into an effective political force. If we announced now our intention of fighting ten leaders, as Anti-War candidates, the last decade's frustration would disappear overnight, and, what is more important, for the first time in the history of this country, a party would be launched to challenge the whole conception of power-politics, war, and conscription.

With an election imminent, and war threatening, is there no effective saving word from the PPU?

Perhaps the AGM will speak to Britain and the world.

FRANK R. HANCOCK

Rodmell,
Lewes, Sussex.

Control of Fox-hunters

IF, as Mr. Pike states, a farmer in a district known to him was prevented from taking over a farm if he did not sign

a declaration that he would not shoot foxes, his remedy in war-time was simple, obvious and entirely effective. He had only got to protest to the War Agricultural Executive Committee, and they would have compelled his landlord to omit this clause, and if the farmer could not deal with the foxes himself, they would have sent their Pest Officer to shoot them.

If, which is most unlikely, the local War Agricultural Committee was entirely composed of fox-hunters, the farmer could have written to the Ministry of Agriculture and would certainly have received support. I myself had considerable personal experience during the war both of War Agricultural Executive Committee and of the Ministry of Agriculture, and I can assure Mr. Pike that both did not scruple to exercise the most autocratic powers, not only reasonably, but sometimes unreasonably also, when any question of food production appeared to be involved. The landlord did not even have much choice in the selection of new tenants, who had to be "vetted" by the War Agricultural Executive Committee.

BEDFORD

Crowholt, Woburn,
Bletchley, Bucks.

Flight of imagination

TO an audience of British residents in Berlin, on April 1 (note date) the Archbishop of York is reported as having said:

"There is no example in history of an occupying country willingly subjecting

itself to hardship and discomfort in order to save those with whom it was recently at war."

This is understood to refer to the Berlin "air-lift." If the Archbishop really thinks that the Allied War Departments are moved by compassion towards Berliners, he is almost incredibly naïve. Perhaps we could win fresh compliments by showering rose-petals on Hiroshima.

TOM SULLIVAN

31 Knockbreda Park,
Belfast.

Not anti-militarist now

MAY I correct two errors which crept into my review of Dennis Hayes' "Conscription Conflict" as printed in your last issue?

I appear to say that "British Labour maintains its libertarian and anti-militarist traditions." Alas, I cannot say that! I was referring to the years immediately after the first World War: "maintains" should have been "maintained."

The second error was in the sentence "collectivism with libertarianism means compulsion." It should have read, of course, "collectivism without libertarianism means compulsion."

We cannot go back on collectivism: our task is to find a synthesis of planning and liberty. Do that, and remove the danger of war, and we can hope to get rid of conscription.

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A fresh start

Dr. ALEX WOOD

Chairman of Peace News Ltd.

PEACE NEWS is in a very difficult and precarious situation and this fact has never been concealed from its readers. The rapid and prolonged drop in circulation which took place over a period of some two years threatened it with extinction.

The fact that this rot has very largely been stopped now is mainly due to the able and devoted service given by Frank Lea during his editorship of the paper. But the decline in circulation has not yet been completely arrested and the paper is only able to continue through the generosity of those readers and supporters whose contributions make up the Peace News Fund. In these circumstances the resignation of Frank Lea was received with something like dismay. Where could we look for a successor?

It will easily be realised with what a sense of relief the Directors found that Bernard Boothroyd was willing to undertake the responsibility and, notwithstanding the uncertain financial stability of the paper, was ready to become its editor. For Bernard Boothroyd is a pacifist of 1914—or even earlier—vintage, who has never wavered in his witness. And he is a writer and editor of distinction and of wide experience. He is known to many as "Yaffle" or as "Owlglass."

His editorial experience began with "The Tribunal"—the weekly journal of the No-Conscription Fellowship—which he took over on the arrest of its founder W. J. Chamberlain and edited until he himself was arrested in 1917. During that period he was also joint editor of the Quaker Socialist monthly, the Ploughshare. After the first world war he wrote for the Daily Herald and, as "Yaffle," he was a regular contributor to the "New Leader." During the miners' lock-out in 1926 he assisted John Strachey in running "The Miner" and in 1935 he began writing for Reynolds's News—a connection which has been maintained ever since.

Although his inimitable contributions in the vein of light satire have established his reputation as a writer, it is important to realise that these arise out of deep and longstanding convictions and that his pacifism has a very positive note which will soon be sounding in the columns of Peace News. He has assured the Directors that he hopes to make the paper representative of the whole Peace Movement. We are greatly in his debt for undertaking so hazardous a responsibility and we hope that with its new editor and its new look Peace News may enter on a new period of prosperity.

BERNARD BOOTHROYD

A word of greeting

EVERY 30 years or so with unfailing regularity I find myself editing a pacifist paper. The process is not, however, entirely repetitive: this is the first time I have edited one during a Cold War.

This latest military invention confronts us with new problems, for it is a war which pacifists can join in. And when they have to answer the inevitable question—"What did you do in the Cold War, Daddy?"—I hope they will be able to reply, "I fought with unrelenting zeal and absolute impartiality for both sides, my son."

The pacifist movement, like most others, seems to lack vitality just now owing to the prevailing pessimism. I do not share that fashionable mood.

I am tired of hearing that humanity has reached the most serious crisis of its career, that it has lost its faith, that nearly everybody you meet is a Gadarene pig and that nothing can save us now but something there's no sign of.

Whatever truth there is in it, it's not worth repeating because it is all so old, and as Editor I shall strictly limit the amount of it that gets into the paper because it is no longer news. For the most part it is only what Adam was mumbling to Eve as they left the Garden, and she soon interrupted him by telling him to go and chop some wood.

The worst that can be said about our period is that it is one of the Dark Ages. There have been several of these. As far as I can gather they were all periods during which the people who had formed some idea of what the world needed were energetic and hopeful, because they knew that the time of opportunity and great beginnings was upon them.

As Dark Ages go, I think this one is well up to standard. I don't understand how anyone of my age (1916 call-up) can look back over his adult years without admitting what a privilege it is to be living now. The amount of light we have seen thrown on religion, history, pre-history, anthropology, sociology, education, psychology, economics and ourselves is dazzling. As a Dark Age it looks to me remarkably well flood-lit.

The conflict we are in today is the kind which always occurs when a new idea is coming into the world and causing confusion. Another way of describing it is to say we are entering a New Age. And the idea which is now struggling into coherence is that of international unity.

As the confusion surrounding this new idea develops, the challenge to pacifist activity grows more insistent, and puts upon us the obligation to determine the nature of that confusion, so that we can play our natural and historic part in helping to resolve it.

For this we need an ever-deepening understanding of the age we live in. I would therefore like Peace News to be a means of encouraging equally the examination of pacifist principles and the objective study of the social and political environment to which those principles have to be applied.

We have, I'm sure, the necessary dove-like harmlessness.

What we need is a bit more serpentine wisdom. I commiserate Peace News in losing Frank Lea, who took on the editorship at a difficult time and devoted his very unusual intellectual abilities to our service when they were so urgently needed.

With considerably less capability, I have a high standard to maintain, and for that reason I hope readers will pass on to me the generous support they gave to him.



BERNARD BOOTHROYD

THE CAMPAIGN OF PEACE

"Unless you will subjugate the propensity to avarice, to ambition, and sensuality, and expel all luxury from yourselves and from your families, you will find that you have cherished a more stubborn and intractable despot at home, than you ever encountered in the field; and even your very bowels will be continually teeming with an intolerable progeny of tyrants. Let these be the first enemies whom you subdue; this constitutes the campaign of peace; these the triumphs, difficult indeed, but bloodless; and far more honourable than those trophies which are purchased only by slaughter and by rapine. Unless you are victors in this service, it is in vain that you have been victorious over the despotic enemy in the field."

—Milton: *Prose Works*, i.

This Sicilian peasant had apparently seen something in the "little poor man of Assissi" that he had not found in Mussolini. As I waved my hand to him on leaving next day, he again raised his hands together in the new "Victory Sign" which Mr. Churchill has not learned yet.

And so it goes on, this weaving of the invisible net, this fraternisation with aliens and foreigners, this common meal of good food and good fun. The cook is a graduate, from a very pleasant home, who has spent some years as head of an international centre in Paris, meeting all sorts of interesting or distinguished persons. But apparently this "getting down to things" in common life and labour and relationships is more to her liking than running an institution for peace. At any rate, she was radiant when she described it all to me the other day.

Perhaps finding peace and making peace belong together. And perhaps peace-making starts in the kitchen and not in the committee, and is a matter for realisation and not for generalisations.

Often the best and quickest way of getting through mountains TUNNELS

By GEO. M. LI. DAVIES

NO one likes tunnels, but they are often the best and quickest way of getting through mountains.

I sometimes think the same thing applies to our gigantic world problems and the chasms that divide races and classes and parties in our day.

It is not merely a matter of knowledge and ability. I read the other day several copies of the *New Statesman* which, Heaven knows, is able, intellectual and informed enough. It all left me incredibly weary of the problems and persecutions in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Russia, Burma, and the rest of them—problems and persecutions, not of the old feudal Habsburgs, or the Kaiser and the old aristocrats, but of the brand new democrats who would scorn the Liberals and Labour men and think George Lansbury or Keir Hardie sentimental old fools.

It was the newest brands that were burning with indignation and scorn against one another and contemplating punishments, banishments, dictatorship and wars, compared with which our earlier struggles were child's play. A new orthodoxy, dogmatism, ecclesiasticism seemed to be growing in politics, art, music, morals, compared with which the old Catholicism seemed paternal benevolence. All of which made one think whether there wasn't some fundamental flaw in our notions of human government.

Two wrong notions

Firstly, the right of condemnation: penalisation was taken for granted, and yet any decent family could show a working alternative completely different, in which the big ones didn't beat the little ones or the strong scorn the sick.

Secondly, the accidents of name, race or class were taken as highly culpable delinquencies. And these assumptions were not merely the ignorance of the unlettered proletariat, but were most violent and dogmatic among the University students.

All this is not meant to palliate or excuse the evils that exist, but to argue that if this attitude goes on humanity will suffer and cease to live; and the more the security in soldiers and armaments of the modern man, the swifter the common doom will come. These are the mountainous problems that beset not only the modern statesman but the modern man who can read his daily paper.

Is there any tunnel through these Himalayan problems? Probably the first step is to get to rock bottom—the hard fact that we are not here merely for the good of our health or our economic prosperity or our political authority. Here is an immediate problem of human relationship facing us all in large or small ways. It's an old story

*O fish in the sea, pray listen to me
For my wife won't have it as I'd have it to be.*

And the hard fact of this unsolved problem of human relationships brings men to darkness and difficulty in house and home no less than in world politics.

My neighbour, AB, has to face it in his most unsuitable marriage. A working practical farmer of homely Welsh stock could not marry a slightly reserved English girl from a very cultured home without

WHO retires from the Chairmanship of the Peace Pledge Union this month.

He was imprisoned as a conscientious objector in World War I, elected Christian Pacifist MP for the University of Wales in 1923, subsequently devoted himself to bettering the lot of the unemployed in South Wales. His publications include *Essays Towards Peace* (Sheppard Press, 5s.), of which *The Manchester Guardian* wrote: "His genius for unlocking the door which opens a new way of life shines in these essays."



facing the differences that divide. To live together was one problem of real difficulty, to farm together brought further raw facts of a social and economic character. You can't neglect land or animals or work without serious consequences, personal, social and economic. But they got through the tunnel.

When I first met AB he was greatly concerned for the unemployed of his little town, blamed the Government and the system and all that, and at length asked himself what he was doing in the matter. The answer was "nothing." He asked himself next what he was farming for, and the answer was "to make money." But out of no text book came the thought that he ought to be farming to make men.

Gradually he transformed his excellent dairy farm into a market garden with acres of rhubarb, lettuce and the rest, and six acres of black currants. The economic consequences were highly problematical, but it gave work to 25 men.

With wages, work and friendship all sorts of things began to happen. Jobs became hobbies to the men. One man was absorbed in his poultry and produced 800 eggs a day. Another with the grade A Tuberculin Tested milk managed to initiate the distribution of 1,000 gallons a day. The economic consequences were apparently looking after themselves.

The whole family and workers share the common meal—generally a very good one—in the common kitchen. When I was there first the unemployed men had got jobs with high wages at munition factories in the war. Their places were taken by Italian and German prisoners from a neighbouring camp, of whom over 1,000 came in the course of the war years—looking furtive or sullen or defiant according to their disposition. But the theory and practice of right relationship, and good food in the common kitchen, and many a conversation in the Italian and German which his wife had learned, altered all that. Again the economic consequences seemed to work out all right, and the personal consequences meant that they continue to this day to get letters of friendship and affection from Germany to Sicily. Some even married Welsh girls and settled in the neighbourhood.

The Italian's answer

When I stayed at the farm I asked one of the Italians how he thought peace might come. He shook his head decidedly as he answered "No politics," and then put his hands together in the gesture of prayer, "Pray to God and to the Saints."

I asked, "Which of the Saints?"

He answered immediately, "Saint Francis of Assissi."

GEORGE WOODCOCK reviews biographies of

THOREAU and TOLSTOY

IT would be difficult to find two men whose fundamental ideas were so similar as those of Thoreau and Tolstoy, yet whose characters and lives were so different.

Both realised that the change to elevate social relationships into a condition that will ensure peace and freedom must come from within each man individually. Both saw in the complexity and luxury which were in their day—and still are—the aims of ordinary social striving, two of the principal barriers to individual development. Both believed that violence was a basic fault and that it could not be driven out by counter-violence, but only by an attempt to establish between individuals the spiritual bond of love. And both persistently realised that, if the Kingdom of God is within, the Kingdom of the Devil is certainly without, and needs to be fought in a way which inevitably forced both of them, however unwillingly, to take sides in the social struggles of their time.

But there were profound differences between the two men, and, appropriately enough, they are reflected in the style and character of the biographical studies under review.

A "FAILURE"

Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch's book ("Henry David Thoreau," Methuen, 15s.) is the restrained and scholarly study of a life which at times seems almost trivial in its serenity. For Thoreau was, in the eyes of the world, a failure. Unlike Tolstoy, he enacted his development on no public and national scale, he represented no focus for moral indignation against injustice and corruption, he passed, even as a writer, unrecognised until several decades after his death. Seen out of their context his acts of defiance seem petty—the single night in a small-town lockup, the help given to a follower of John Brown to escape into the safety of Canada, the retirement to a retreat in the woods which was enlivened by continual visits from friends and frequent excursions into the social life of Concord.

Yet according to more profound values, Thoreau was undoubtedly a success, in so far as any man avoids being a failure before the judgment of his own conscience. He did reach a kind of stoic inner sufficiency, he did prove to his own satisfaction that material goods are not the basis even of ordinary happiness, and that a great reduction of the complexity of daily living,

with a resultant diminution of social friction, is not only possible, but even stimulating. And he did not flinch away from the realisation that his individualism, his attack on the involvement in cares which robbed men of spiritual freedom, logically brought him to a rejection of the State and a proclamation of the need to withdraw one's moral and material support from such institutions and their activities.

But, if Thoreau's significance to us, particularly in the intensified social turmoil of the twentieth century, lies in his advocacy of civil disobedience, in his elevation of man's individual conscience as the sole means of judgment, one must not forget that for him the most important factors of his life were the thoughts which mental liberation gave him, the philosophy and literature to which he devoted the greater part of his time. He was an able and persuasive writer, an unoriginal philosopher, and to these factors in his life Mr. Krutch has given due weight in a study which perhaps leans too much towards the scholastic in its discussion of influences and styles.

To pass from Thoreau to Tolstoy is like getting up from a performance of *The Winter's Tale* and walking into the last act of *King Lear*. In Tolstoy there is never serenity, but always the most bitter conflict, and the height of worldly success and moral prestige was accompanied by an inner struggle whose end Tolstoy himself would have doubtless regarded as the deepest failure, and which to any eye must appear the saddest tragedy.

Tolstoy's achievements as a writer and a moral teacher are beyond dispute. "War and Peace" raised him to an unassailable position among the greatest of European writers, and for decades he stood in Russia as a centre of opposition to social reaction, whom the Tsarist authorities dared not touch because of his international prestige.

Like Thoreau, he was held, by his devotion to the search for inner harmony, to realise that it is impossible to attain this without conflict within an inharmonious world, and so, although he always claimed not to involve himself in revolutionary activities, he in fact produced a mass of social criticism of the State, of war, of organised religion which was nothing if not revolutionary, and put forward a theory of free communism which was not far different from that of Kropotkin. Some of his social

Jeremiads have an added point today, when much of their prophetic quality has been fully realised.

Yet, for all his great influence towards social liberation, Tolstoy always failed to liberate himself from that personal problem which tormented him every day for the last years of his life, the terrible moral dilemma of whether to abandon his family in order to live the simple life, or to continue his obligations to them, even though forced in this way to compromise his principles by living in an atmosphere of wealth. To the outsider the answer seems simple; even the Christian doctrine in its pure form exhorts a man to cut all personal ties that may hinder his development. But Tolstoy's vast sense of guilt prevented him from doing this, and it seems likely that his stormy nature needed the turmoil and suffering, which was certainly provided in full measure by his grossly selfish wife and his younger sons.

PATHETIC TANGLE

In the vast new biography by Professor Simmons ("Leo Tolstoy," Lehmann, 25s.), all the pathetic tangle of these last years is told in its full folly and tragedy. The author has used fully the great mass of new material recently published in Russia, and his book with its 800 pages, is certainly the most complete work on Tolstoy yet written. At times the style shades into romance or rises to sensationalism, but the book as a whole is an impressive study, and Tolstoy, whom at a superficial glance it is not difficult to dismiss as half *poseur*, appears as a thoroughly sincere character, driven into melodramatic situations by the depth of those very feelings which also made him the great artist and the courageous defender of injustice and liberty.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY Mahatma Gandhi

"... an autobiography which rivals that of St. Augustine, Edmund Gosse or H. G. Wells in its frankness..."

Political Quarterly. With a foreword by 21s. net.

PHOENIX PRESS 47 Earls Court Rd., W.8 (Western 2928)

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, April 14, 1939

War resisters, who must face the consequences of their resistance, are mainly young people, a movement such as ours should look for guidance from within. Aged veterans, however much they may or may not have done in the past, should give place to younger people. People like myself cannot lead a young movement such as ours. The only service we can render is to give support and sympathy for those who are in the forefront of the struggle against war, and never forget there is only one way to conquer corruption and that is to adopt the policy embodied in the words "No more war."

—George Lansbury, A message on the eve of the Peace Pledge Union's Second Annual General Meeting.

Dr. Paul A. Zahl, found an Indian village in British Guiana where human relations were "practically perfect." Strangely enough, the village had never been visited by white men.

—Industrial Worker, Mar. 18, 1939.

For sale: £22; 1933 Model Austin 12 h.p. de luxe saloon, in good condition. Tax £9. —Classified advertisement.

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ROCKWAY

COMMUNIST PEACE CONFERENCES AND PACIFISM

They have nothing to do with world peace

Special to Peace News from

DWIGHT MACDONALD

Editor of Politics, New York

THE most important thing to understand about the New York "Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace" at the Hotel Waldorf is that it had nothing to do with world peace. As a (dissenting) delegate who sat through most of the sessions, I can testify that this was simply one more manoeuvre of our native Communists and fellow-travellers to strengthen the Russian side and weaken the American side in the present "cold war."

Before the Conference opened, indeed, this fact could be seen clearly enough from the Call to the Conference, which said not one word critical of the Soviet Union's militarist and imperialist policies and denounced in detail the similar policies of the American Government.

The Conference consisted partly of large plenary sessions, where all the 3,000 delegates assembled to hear the usual kind of oratory given forth on such occasions, and partly of smaller "panel discussions" in specialised fields such as Fine Arts, Religion and Ethics, or Writing and Publishing. There was also a large ten-dollar-a-plate ceremonial dinner on Friday night, and a wind-up mass rally at Madison Square Garden (20,000 present) on Sunday night.

What distinguished this Conference from similar enterprises in the past was that some sharp dissent made itself heard inside the Conference and that there was a split evident even among the top leadership. This split was between the Russian delegation (which was the show-piece of the whole affair, always getting by far the most applause from the audience), and the American fellow-travellers who led the Conference: Harlow Sharpley, the astronomer, an old hand at staging such carnivals; and Professor Frederick L. Shumann, another long-time rider of the Stalinist band-wagon.

Both Shepley and Schuman, in their keynote speeches, took the line that *both* sides were guilty of preparing for the next war, though, of course, they were much easier on the Kremlin than on the State Department. (This line contradicted that of the original Call, as described above; one reason for its adoption was probably the unexpected vigour and effectiveness of an opposition move among American intellectuals—see below.) But A. A. Fadayeve, the head of the Russian delegation, would have none of this appeasement move; he publicly rebuked Mr. Schuman (and extorted from him, also publicly, a servile retraction) and asserted that "while there are elements in the United States responsible for the menace to peace, there are no such elements in our country."

WHOSE PANTS

In the end, after some lively opposition, Sharpley and Schuman carried the day and got a resolution on peace adopted which was so extremely vague that almost anyone except a Prussian career-general could have signed it. (The opposition wanted "something with teeth in it," and made no secret of its belief that the teeth should be implanted in the seat of Acheson's rather than Vyshinsky's pants.)

The dissent from within the Conference began when Norman Cousins at the dinner meeting aroused much booing and hissing with a sharp criticism of the American Communist Party. It reached a climax in the Writing and Publishing session, where five anti-Communists who had taken the trouble to get delegates' cards, took the show away from the comrades on the speakers' platform with a series of questions and interventions from the floor directed mostly at the three Russian delegates who attended: Fadayeve, P. A. Pavlenko and Dimitri Shostakovich.

The five dissenting delegates were: Robert Lowell, a pacifist and poet, author of the Pulitzer-Prize-winning, "Lord

Weary's Castle"; Mary McCarthy, author of "The Company She Keeps"; Dr. George S. Counts, of Teachers' College; Jean Malauvais, author of "The Javanese" and "World Without Visa"; and myself. Judging by the volume of booing and the demands that we sit down (firmly resisted by the chairman, Louis Untermeyer, who presided with fairness), I would say we were almost the only Dissenters among the 800 delegates who attended the meeting.

COs IN THE USSR

The dramatic climax of the session came when Lowell asked Pavlenko what were the laws about conscientious objection in the Soviet Union, and asked Shostakovich to tell us how the criticism of the Central Committee had helped him compose better music. Pavlenko was evidently quite puzzled by the question asked of him. "I don't know," he finally answered, "because whenever my country has called, I have fought. I am now fifty, I hope to be still able to fight for my country when I am a hundred!" Shostakovich—a tragic figure, by the way, pale and tense and unsmiling—replied: "Our musical criticism is a reflection of our life. The criticism brings me much good because it helps bring my music forward."

Incidentally, it might be noted that both Lowell and myself began by identifying ourselves as pacifists. This caused no end of confusion and resentment; and one delegate rose on a point of order to object (unsuccessfully) that Lowell's question about COs in Russia had no place in a meeting called to discuss world peace.

A highly-successful counter-movement was organised, at the last minute, by the philosopher and journalist, Sidney Hook (who had been refused permission to read a paper at the Conference criticising the concept of class or national truth in science and putting forward the thesis that scientific truth is international in character). This spontaneous, ill-organised but enthusiastic movement called itself Americans for intellectual Freedom. It kept up a steady flow of expose and criticism of the concealed political aims of the conference, and held a three-hour counter-meeting at Freedom House which attracted several thousand listeners. This meeting was addressed by, among others, A. J. Muste, speaking for Peacemakers. Earlier in the week, Muste, had asked both conferences for a place on their programmes. The Hook group, though not at all pacifist in colouration, had made a place for him. But the Waldorf Conference, though it had almost a dozen different meetings and panels as against the Hook group's one, somehow just couldn't find a spot for a pacifist voice.

What does



stand for?

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

It is on the basis of this Pledge that the fellowship of the Peace Pledge Union is built.

The PPU stands for the rejection of war. It believes that negotiation is the only constructive way of solving any disputes or reconciling any differences and that non-violent resistance is the only way in which tyranny, cruelty, and aggression can be effectively met.

If you decide that you can in conscience no longer support the method of war, we hope that you will sign the Pledge and give us the encouragement of your help. There is no other condition of membership and no fixed subscription though we rely on our members to provide the financial support necessary for our work.

Members are invited to join the nearest local group and take part in their activities. The address of the local group secretary will be sent to each new signatory on receipt of the pledge card.

If you would like to have further information about the PPU or to discuss your particular problems, please write to the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Two ways traffic?

by **VIGILANT**

The writer, a Central European pacifist and socialist, played an active part in the non-violent resistance of Nazism up to 1938. He has recently visited relatives living behind the "Iron Curtain."

COMMUNIST-SPONSORED peace campaigns—outside the USSR—are not a post-war II phenomenon. The most interesting precedent for the Paris Peace Conference of April 20, 1949, was that organised by the *Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix* in July, 1937. It gave an opportunity for the president of the British section of the League of Nations Union, and a present member of the Government publicly to discuss the possibilities of co-operation for peace with Messrs. Pierre Cot and Jouhaux and the chairman of the Russian Trade Unions, M. Shvernik (now President of the USSR). It appears unjustified, therefore, to deny entirely that problems of peaceful co-operation can be discussed in a friendly way with representatives of Communist organisations. As a matter of policy, pacifists generally ought to insist that discussions intended to promote mutual understanding and improvement of relations between antagonists should be supported. But at the same time it appears necessary to consider realistically what the issues are and what the Communists stand for.

CLASH OF IDEOLOGIES

Lack of space prevents a complete presentation of the Communist point of view. But the present

and East, can lead to situations which cannot be controlled by reason and human power.

Marxist leaders are awaiting the "inevitable crisis" in the capitalist system, particularly at the "head office," namely USA. Their struggle against the Marshall Plan revealed the fundamental opposition of Moscow to any recovery in Europe financed by the U.S. Eastern Europe is, at the same time, making every effort to expand production. Excessive investment programmes are carried out to raise productivity and simultaneously to raise the peoples' standard of living. Expenditure on armament necessarily counteracts both aims.

Peaceful economic competition between East and West therefore, through a reduction of armaments and a demonstration of better methods used for the increase of human happiness, would permit a coexistence of the "two systems"; and Great Britain would be enabled to show the "middle way" of peaceful social progress. But if Moscow regards ERP as an economic offensive and the "Atlantic Pact" as aggressive, then it will react to the latter by strengthening its military and strategic position.

LIVING TOGETHER

Should pacifists participate in peace conferences organised by Communists? The answer is in the affirmative—in order to ascertain under what conditions East and West can live together peacefully, and to seek ways, together with Communists, for the preservation of peace. But such a co-operation should be based on mutual understanding. If the objective of a "peace congress" is to "mobilise the masses against imperialism," then such a movement, especially if controlled and directed by Communists, functions as a "first line of defence" for the Red Army.

In the interest of large-scale propaganda for a genuine peace, the clarification of the points of view of the delegates at Paris—Communists and non-Communists—is desirable. Mutual understanding will strengthen the energies of all peace-loving peoples in their actions against war propaganda and hysteria.

But if the visits of speakers from the USSR and other Eastern European countries to the West (e.g. Russian delegates at the International Women's Day) is very valuable as a proof of the desire for peace in the East, would it not be possible to arrange for similar visits of pacifists from the West to Eastern Europe? The work for peace should be a two-ways traffic and it appears necessary to demonstrate reciprocity. Peoples in Eastern Europe, who no doubt long for peace, ought to hear about the efforts for peace in the West.

Pacifist Profiles XXXV

FRAU REGINA HESSE, of Aachen, became a pacifist at an early age. Much of her childhood was passed in Belgium, France and Italy, where she made lasting friends with people of other nationalities. The virtue of reconciliation she learned through disputes with her own anti-pacifist family. "If I 'lost', she tells us, "I was unhappy, yet if I 'won' I suffered still more . . . until I had made friends again. Later I found that all these difficulties were avoidable if I took care to respect the opinions of others and not to wound anyone's feelings."

After her marriage, she and her husband worked together on the Committee of the Deutsches Friedensgesellschaft (German Peace Society), until his death in 1932. The continuation of his work then seemed to her like a personal bequest. So it came about that, a year later, she was arrested by the Nazis on a charge of high treason; her home was confiscated and she lost the guardianship of her children.

While in prison, however, she managed to bribe a Gestapo official with gifts of furniture, and thereby secured her early release. Followed the common experience of German pacifists: she had to carry on her work in secret, isolated from her friends, constantly changing her address, in nightly dread of the Gestapo. Once again she was arrested, and once again secured her release. "The task which I set myself," she writes, "was to keep my children untainted by Nazi influence, lonely—terribly lonely, we felt, we German pacifists, during the latter years of the Nazi regime. And it is a tragic thing to have to be hoping for the fall of one's own nation."

But her perseverance was rewarded. As soon as the war ended, she was in a position to resume her peace work openly: to return to Aachen and work in a convalescent camp for young people; to found, in conjunction with the Quakers, an undenominational, non-political youth organisation; and to rebuild the Friedensgesellschaft. Now her chief aim is to teach other Germans what came so naturally to herself as a child: understanding of, and personal co-operation with, peace-lovers in other lands.



REGINA HESSE

WHEN NANSEN WARNED THE WEST

THE following is a passage from Heinz Kraschutski's pamphlet, "East and West," recently published by Peace News at 2d.

Heinz Kraschutski, who today lives in Berlin, was in 1927 indicted by the German Government for high treason, having exposed German re-armament. He left for Spain, and with his wife and family settled on the island of Majorca. With the coming of the Spanish Civil War he was arrested on the instigation of the Nazis and his family was sent back to Germany.

For nine years he remained imprisoned in Franco Spain. Efforts made by the War Resisters' International to secure his release only succeeded after the collapse of Germany, when Kraschutski went straight back to Berlin and re-started his pacifist work.

Because it is felt that this pamphlet should be widely distributed, quantities are available at 1s. 9d. per doz. and 14s. per 100.

THE distrust the Russians feel is tremendous. Many say it is impossible to overcome it. But I will tell you now of a man who was successful in doing so—Frithjof Nansen.

You must remember that some two weeks of rain are needed every year in the district of the Middle Volga. When it fails to come the harvest of the year is lost. On the average this happens about once in twelve years. Unfortunately such a drought occurred in two subsequent years during the Russian Civil War, when the country was exhausted after six years of war, when the transport system had broken down, and when there were poor crops also in the rest of Russia.

That the Civil War lasted so long was not the fault of the Russians only. Five Great Powers—France, Italy, England, USA and Japan—intervened in Russia with their troops. Some of these Great Powers, when seventeen years later the Spanish Democracy invoked their help against Fascist rebellion and its foreign friends, said that they were sorry, but it was against their principles to interfere in internal disputes in other countries! Russia, then, was the exception, a fact which is not yet quite forgotten in Russia.

QUAKERS FIRST

So, in 1921, many millions of men, women and children in Russia were facing starvation, and unimaginable misery prevailed. The Quakers, as always, were the first to help. But they were not strong enough alone. So an appeal went out to a man whose great human heart never failed to respond to human need.

Nansen went to Russia. He looked into the wide terror-stricken eyes of starving children. Then he went to Geneva, and in his capacity as the Norwegian delegate to the League of Nations asked the Governments of the world for help. Never has a speech in the Hall of the League of Nations provoked such a storm of applause as did Nansen's appeal for help for Russia. But alas! this applause was in the galleries only, where the common people were sitting. The delegates of the Governments remained unmoved. They were willing to appoint a Commission to study the case. Nansen insisted that there was no time for a Commission, that thousands were dying every day. In vain! One delegate sug-

gested that first the Russian Government should recognise the pre-war debts. Nansen cried that this was making a bargain out of dying children. Finally, the delegate for Yugoslavia let out the truth, saying, "Let them die, they are Reds!"

Then Nansen's anger broke out. He no longer implored, he shouted with rage: "They are no Reds, they are human beings who are dying! That is bad politics! If you fail here, if you let those millions die, you will have to pay for it! Your reward will be the distrust of the Russians against the rest of the world for scores of years!"

Today we see how right he was.

COLD-HEARTED STATESMEN

Nansen said later that it would be easier to melt the ice at the North Pole than the hearts of those statesmen. But what they refused to do he would do alone. He set out to appeal to the conscience of the world, and he did not fail. In all countries very considerable funds were raised. An old worker in Uruguay gave all the savings of his long life, some 2,200 gold pounds. The generosity of people in Scandinavia, England, and North and South America was wonderful. Some millions of Russians were saved, but five million more could have been saved if the Governments had shared in the campaign.

But they did not. They prohibited Nansen from using the telegraph, because the Soviet Government was not yet recognised. They published false news that the Nansen food-cars were being seized by the Red Army—but later he published that not a single parcel of his had been lost. One Government (the British) spent hundreds of millions for the Wrangel Army when they had no money for the hungry.

Nansen was no Communist. But once when a Norwegian in London said to him: "How can you do so much for those Reds?"—then he shook his fist at the man, shouting: "You could not speak like that if you had seen the starving children I have!"

Today, in many a country cottage in Russia, there are three pictures on the wall—the Holy Virgin, Lenin, and Nansen. So it was possible, you see, to win the confidence of the Russians. But it was Nansen. The Statesmen of the League of Nations, no, for them it was not possible. And I am afraid that those of the UN will not be more successful either.

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"... Above all, soldiering gives the opportunity for Service to the Country and to the cause of humanity and justice in many lands, Service which has as its rewards self-respect, the respect of one's fellow-men and enduring comradeship."

—Field Marshal Alanbrooke, Foreword to the War Office recruiting booklet, "Army, The Modern Career."

GERMAN YOUTH OPPOSE RE-MILITARISATION

From Rolf Hoffman

THE disillusionment and scepticism felt towards military glory by the youth of Germany has recently been the subject of correspondence in the columns of the German paper, Echo of the Week.

A young German, Theo Gehring, writes: "An American or a Russian would know what he was fighting for, but not so the German. He finds himself between two fires . . . He is advised to take part (in a future conflict) as a mercenary without a country."

"Such a suggestion is made to people who may have spent some years as prisoners in Siberia anxiously thinking about their homes in Germany."

"General Staffs preparing a re-militarisation of youth should not forget the fact that they have not to deal with enthusiastic and confident youth, but with those who were cheated and who, after a lost war, find a dark prospect for the future. Thank God that I became sceptical."

"But those who want to establish 'a new Germany,' whether their names be Seydlitz (a German Communist General), Kogon, or Strasser (a left-wing National-Socialist opponent of Hitler), should remember that they will not have any effect with empty words or promises: they must win the soul of youth before they can send them their calling-up papers."

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Thurs.-Tues. April 14-19
HASLEMERE: "Oakenrough"; Easter Youth Holiday Conference; "The Faith of Friendship"; For.

Wednesday, April 20
LONDON: 7.30 p.m. Corbin Hall, Crouch Hill, Hornsey; "Let's Work for Peace"; Speakers: "Yaffie," Mrs. Ann Fry, Rev. Patrick Figgis; Hornsey Peace Council.
NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. YMCA; Address on World Government by Wing-Commander Millington.

Thursday, April 21
LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open Air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open Air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.15-12.45 p.m. Little Chapel, Kingsway Hall; Prayer Meeting led by Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, MA; Sandwich lunches available after meeting; For.

Friday, April 22
LONDON, W.C.2: 1.15 p.m. Kingsway Hall; "British Foreign Policy," Mr. C. P. Mayhew, MP, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; National Peace Council.

Sat.-Sun. April 23-24
LONDON: Beaver Hall, Garlick Hill, Cannon St.; Twelfth AGM of the Peace Pledge Union; Members only; admission by ticket from 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.2.

Saturday, April 23
LONDON: 2.30 p.m. and 4.50 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; "Alternatives to the Death Penalty"; Howard League for Penal Reform.

Monday, April 25
TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Open Air Meeting; Brian Anstey; PPU.

Tuesday, April 26
LONDON: 6 p.m. County Hall; "Point of view . . ." speakers include Stuart Morris; Atomic Scientists Association.
RAMSGATE: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House; "Alternatives to War"; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Thursday, April 28
LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open Air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Sunday, May 1
LONDON: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1; London Area AGM; PPU.

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MEETINGS
"Let's Work for Peace." Speakers, "Yaffie," Mrs. Ann Fry, Rev. Patrick Figgis, Corbin Hall, Crouch Hill, Hornsey, Wed. Apr. 20, 7.30 p.m.

C. P. MAYHEW, MP. on "Britain's Foreign Policy," Friday, April 22, at 1.15 p.m. Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. Programme of series from National Peace Council, 114 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

WEIGH HOUSE Church. Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

ACCOMMODATION
COUNTRY LOVERS. Book now for Easter, Whit and Summer at St. Arilda Guest House, Kingston, Thornbury, Glos. Good food. Homely atmosphere. Special terms for children.

MOUNT AVALON Vegetarian Guest House, Glastonbury, Somerset. Now booking for Spring and Summer holidays. Attractive country house, comfortably furnished. Splendid views, lovely walks. Own garden produce. Convenient Wells Cathedral, Cheddar Gorge, Bath, and Somerset Coast. Terms moderate. See for Brochure to Mrs. R. S. Hunt.

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ILFRACOMBE, DEVON. Guests welcomed from Easter. Lovely country. Sea views. Chris Collis, Pinehurst, Chambercombe Park.

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QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

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DON'T ARGUE about Peace and War in Liberty Clubs, skip it and tackle problems of human relationships. Start by getting this right in your group. Box 30.

MARRIAGE
ASHMAN-TURNER. On April 9 at Bath, Edwin C. Ashman to Lydia Turner (formerly of Romford PPU). Future address, 9, Second Avenue, Bath.

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Situations are available only to applicants accepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

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PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in, to Peace News (STA 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook stationers) Finsbury Park, N.4. (one minute from station).

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COMMENTARY

(Continued from page one)

governments. I have no doubt that this jamboree will be quite a success. Paris is a fine place for such assemblies; better than the ruins of Breslau where the Polish Communists assembled a quarrelsome body of dons and writers to point the way to Peace in 1948. What is more, there is a substantial element of truth in the sort of thing the sponsors of the Paris conference are saying. The Atlantic Pact is more likely than not a step on the road to war. A lot of blame *does* attach to the Western governments for the crisis in which the world now finds itself. What the Fellow-Travelers and the Communist stooges omit to say is that the policy of the Soviet Union in her satellites is much more inflammatory, and the Eastern governments no less to blame than the Western powers for the present hopeless state of things.

Controls relaxed

MR. WILSON, we are told, has made a "bonfire of controls." Much of this, no doubt, is a matter for rejoicing. But I have never thought of controls as bad things in themselves, or centralised authority as, in principle, undesirable. I am a Fabian Socialist, and therefore an *etatiste*. Anarchists are perfectly right when they say that the alternative to anarchism is discipline. A weak State is ridiculous. Either you have a strong one or none at all. My money is on a strong State, and I should be very sorry to see power pass from the Government to the business bosses as various economic controls are relaxed.

Limits of politics

I BELIEVE the purpose of politics is less to do good in the world than to hold off evil. I don't think a strong State gives us any positive blessing, but it can, in the right hands—and Mr. Attlee's hands are good enough for me—thwart a lot of mischief makers. Real good in the world is done by education, religion, art, poetry, love, work friendship—almost everything, in fact except politics.

And then I think pacifism belongs to this non-political—this bigger and creative sphere of life—and not to politics.

Jewish aid for Arabs

It did my heart good to see Mr. Victor Gollancz's appeal for the Arab refugees in Palestine. I have written several times in Peace News about the distress of these people. Mr. Gollancz, who was the first to call us to action to help the Germans in their darkest hour, has called us to action to help the Arab refugees. It shows a noble spirit, indeed; but it is also a challenge to those of us who are not Jews. Donations please, at once, to The Jewish Society for Human Service, 14 Henrietta Street, W.C.2.

Four questions for Youth Conference

What is Christian citizenship?
Is Economics everybody's business?
Which way to world unity and peace?
What does world citizenship mean?

THESE and other questions will be discussed at the Youth Holiday Conference arranged by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, at Amersham, Bucks, from July 30 to August 6. But it won't be all work and no play. Rambles, socials, plays and a film-show are included in the programme. If you are interested, send for details to Hugh Faulkner, FoR, 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

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China Missionaries stay on

FAR from withdrawing their missionaries from Communist China, many societies are reported to be sending out fresh workers.

One American missionary who decided to stay behind the Communist lines has declared "God made people and I believe He loves them for what they are and what they become rather than because of any political or economic system they may be under at any moment or during any century. I believe God loves the people of China alike whether they are under a Nationalist government or are, for the time being, dominated by a Communist government. I am in China because I love the Chinese. My love for them shall not alter because of their political fortunes or misfortunes. I shall stand by them, therefore as long as I can in an effort to lead them to Christ, regardless of their form of government."

The Foreign Missionaries Conference, says a U.S. report, state that of the 1,758 missionaries who now perform the bulk of Protestant mission work in China it is expected that only a small percentage will withdraw; 115 are already in Communist areas.

ROBERT R. BROWN

VERY many readers of PN will regret the death on April 3, of Robert R. Brown, of Horsforth.

Throughout his adult life a passion for social justice and human brotherhood was a dominant motive; and however many the progressive movements with which he was associated—political, educational, international, charitable or cultural—they were always linked in his mind with his relentless campaign against the great evil—WAR. Whatever the topic at the start of a conversation, it was seldom long before he was "riding his hobby-horse, Pacifism" through the ranks of prejudice and error.

Although his good deeds, like his good words, were legion he always preferred to work behind the scenes rather than to hold official positions. Yet he never hid his light beneath a bushel, and the correspondence columns of the Press were a perpetual sounding board for his passionate pleas on behalf of the causes of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Organising was not his role, but a meeting could always rely upon the quiet, persuasive contribution of an informed mind and balanced judgment if he were present. Some who today hold positions of great authority in this country, share with many in more humble circumstances here and abroad, a great debt for the faith, hope and love for humanity with which "R.R.B." inspired his friends.

DENIS RILEY

To the dead of the Second World War

You came from town and village,
plough and bench;

Reluctantly no doubt, yet half
deceived.

You knew that war was hell, parting
a wrench,

But statesmen spoke their piece, and
you believed.

Your deeds were blazed in headlines
in the Press;

Vivid accounts that left so much
unsaid.

All that is past. You moulded from
that cess

A world to pay its tributes to the
dead.

"They did not die in vain": the bitter
lie

Grins on the doubting lips of men
bereft

Of any thought save how your sons
shall die.

Truth cannot hurt you now. Your
debts are paid.

Rest happy, Architects! We that are
left

Must now endure that bloody world
you made.

Cyril Hughes

LIBERTY CLUBS



RUSSIAN HERO won the Grand National but who will be first in the Liberty Sprint? Dundee - Southampton - Aberdeen - Cornwall - Wigan - Somerset - Rochester - Birmingham - they're all in the running. Which will make history by forming the first LIBERTY CLUB? On these local groups will depend our success this means YOU

LIBERAL SOCIALIST PARTY
write to: Don Alwyn, Box 30, Peace News,
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Schoolboys' Conscription Conference

"The Challenge of Conscription" was the theme for a conference for schoolboys between the ages of 15-19, held at Leighton Park School, Reading, from April 4-6. The conference was organised by the Society of Friends, but not all the boys attending were Quakers. This report is by fifteen-year-old C. O. B. Lutyens.

ON the Monday an introductory session was held by G. Colin Fawcett which was followed by a talk by the Rev. C. H. Macquire who spoke on "Christianity and War" and our attitude towards this question. He put his case under three headings: "The World as a Whole," "Conscription as a World-Wide Policy" and "Conscription as it affects the Individual." In discussing Christianity and the Kingdom of God, he said that the Kingdom was all-embracing and therefore opposed to war and would never be attained upon earth through war. He then explained the example and meaning of the Cross in connection with persecution and violence.

The talk was resumed the following day when the Rev. Macquire started by answering the question, "Does Force ever Work?" examining how violent aggression could be overcome not only temporarily but permanently.

Dealing with aggression

Speaking of the usually recognised methods for dealing with aggression: (a) meeting the aggressor with his own weapons with the idea of defeating him and (b) retreating before the aggressor and succumbing to domination, he pointed out that the first has never worked and the second paves the way for continued use of force. Using again the analogy of the Cross he said that our solution lay in holding fast to the belief that violence and force were wrong and, if necessary accepting persecution in this faith as did the early Christian martyrs.

Mr. Hugh Maw spoke next, on "Military Conscription." He gave reasons for and against this compulsory service, which, he said, "teaches young men to get used to the idea of killing." He discussed the following aspects of the subject; Social Finance; National Arguments; Patriotism; Conditions; Crime; Discipline; Defence; and the Christian attitude and he explained the procedure and some of the technical difficulties involved in military conscription.

At the end of the conference the boys divided into groups and further discussed the questions, "What use of force is right?" "Is force ever justified?" and, in connection with the Christian Pacifist cause "Should the conscript, when before a tribunal accept registration, with or without conditions?"

Searching for Europe's lost children

ON April 8 Michael Sorensen spoke to Central London PPU Group about his work with UNRRA looking for Europe's lost children in post-war Germany.

He started touring the countryside of the British Zone with just one helper; visiting orphanages, hospitals and private houses where children were known to have been adopted. At the institutions he looked through the records and then tried to contact the parents or guardians of all the non-German children living in them.

After a while the number of people on the job increased and after two years of intensive work, searching, making reports, interviewing officials and corresponding with those who might help trace the parents, Michael Sorensen felt the work had been done and that any other lost children were untraceable—probably dead.

The whole talk gave a very sobering picture of the behaviour of many Germans, both in the way the children were obtained and in the deceit employed to keep them. He did, however, strongly stress the fact that not only did they never find a child that was ill-treated but that every child was cherished and fed as well as possible.

WORDS ARE DEEDS

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Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

IN all the Press comments on the Budget speech, grave, grim or in grudging admiration, none made any attempt to face real issues and make plain why continued "austerity" was the only possible line for the Chancellor to take.

The Tories put it down to Socialist mis-management and over-expenditure on social services; Socialists, supporting for the first time in the history of the Labour movement, peacetime conscription, as well as the expenditure of £700,000,000 on armaments shirked the true answer by evading all mention of the war economy which has brought us into our present bankrupt position.

To pour out money in the production of goods which cannot be consumed except in war, is simply to make an arrangement to ensure that there is war. When war comes the same process continues at an even higher level until the whole nation is geared to produce the means of destruction. To reverse the gears the brake must first be applied to stop the machine and while that gradual process is going on, and before the great monster can be sufficiently slowed down to start turning over to peaceful production, the inevitable economic collapse of countries who have made themselves bankrupt to join in war makes it much easier to take off the brake and get into war gear again.

BOMBS BEFORE BEEF

It would not seem to require any great level of intelligence to perceive the fact that wars beget wars, yet statesmen and dictators alike continue, futilely, to invoke evil to cast out evil. It was constantly said that the Germans should have made it plain to Hitler that they preferred butter to guns, yet the people of this country, faced with a budget which clearly plumps for bombs instead of beef, do no more than grumble a little, and attribute the harsh conditions to every cause except the true one.

It is natural for pacifists to feel daunted at the overwhelming magnitude of any attempt to rouse people to an understanding of the truth. Our newspaper has only 10,000 readers against the millions of the national Press; our organisation has 14,000 members in a population of 40 million; how paltry and hopeless it seems.

But it must never be forgotten that the smallest minorities have, in the past, saved majorities from their mistakes. There were only six Tolpuddle martyrs, from whose suffering and work the Labour movement in this country was born. Something that has happened once can happen again; the Peace Pledge Union has thousands of members each one capable of making some contribution in converting the majority.

There is a new Peace News with a new Editor; let us each one, aim to get at least one new reader; there is a new "easy-to-read" leaflet; let us get it into the hands of as many people as possible; there are the Vera Brittain and Laurence Housman pamphlets; let us ensure that at least half-a-dozen new readers are found for each.

Perhaps we could hold in our minds the message of this spring holiday, the message of Easter—life not death. The world is waiting for the practical implementation in politics of this great natural process of continued life; the atom bomb is a denial of it; pacifism is the acceptance of it, with all that it holds of struggle and endurance, unity and strength and joy and perpetual life.